9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
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177 important. As these conditions do exist, the transmission of white ways in an intimate family group becomes the major mechanism of acculturation.

SOCIAL INTERACTION WITHIN THE VILLAGE

177 The thirty-four unacculturated families are isolated from surrounding whites, but they do have contact with the fourteen acculturated families 571 who reside in the village. The acculturated group are a potential source of rapid culture change, and their influence could lead to the spread of white ways throughout the entire population of Lone Hill. But this does not happen. The cultural innovations initiated by the acculturated families are generally not accepted by the unacculturated majority. Why this is so may be understood by first making an additional distinction among the fourteen acculturated families and then describing the social interaction among the groupings that emerge.

A further differentiation is found when the criterion of acculturation is reapplied to the fourteen families who do not regularly attend the Indian ceremonials. Table 1 presents a final summary of group differences in Mandan-Hidatsa acculturation. Seven families virtually never attend the dances; we continue to refer to them as acculturated. The remaining seven families, henceforth to be called "marginal," do participate in the ceremonials when they are in the village. However, the seven marginal families do not live in Lone Hill for more than six to eight months of the year. For the rest of the year, during their off-reservation periods, they interact with whites and with Indians from other tribes. Marginal families and individuals may leave abruptly by automobile for South Dakota, Montana, or even California, and stay away for months at a time. They are called marginal specifically because their shifting pattern of residence prevents them from regularly attending the Indian ceremonials and from fully participating in village culture. While they are living in Lone Hill, the marginal families interact primarily with unacculturated Indians. They are very active in community affairs, seem to uphold Indian beliefs and values, and at times are among the staunchest defenders of traditional Indian ways. Despite their varied experiences outside Lone Hill, the marginal families do not initiate major cultural change within the village.

Table 1.—Group Differences in Mandan-Hidatsa Acculturation

Degree of Acculturation	White Model in Household	
	Absent	Present
Unacculturated	31	3
Marginal	0	7
Acculturated	0	7

177 Observation indicates that members of the marginal families are restless, unsatisfied, rather unpredictable, and some are psychologically unstable. In ● 158 every one of these seven families there is a constant pattern of excessive drinking and fighting, and every adult male has a jail record for committing minor offenses. One of these men is a severe alcoholic, while a second has spent almost three years in a state asylum where he was diagnosed as a case of

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dementia praecox. The latter travels all over the United States as a hobo, but always returns to the village. A third marginal male went AWOL from the Army, and was once sentenced to three years in the penitentiary for forgery. Still another individual, although married, has admitted to the paternity of three children by three different off-reservation women, and action has been taken in two of the cases for nonsupport.

The relationships between the seven acculturated families and the thirty-four unacculturated families are characterized by much hostility and a low frequency of social interaction. The acculturated people rarely visit at unacculturated homes, do not participate in the dances or other community activities, and make special efforts to keep their children isolated from the unacculturated children. White "middle class" values are the criteria by which the acculturated Indian appraises his worth and evaluates himself, even though he is not a member of any white social group. Some acculturated individuals actually over-react to those white standards which form the basis for white disapproval of Indian behavior. One man in the village never touches a drop of liquor, is very active in the Christian Church, is up for breakfast every morning by seven, accumulates land and money to the point of being miserly, and will pay every debt before it is due. The acculturated Indians not only reject traditional Indian ways; they often will openly and severely criticize Indian behavior. They have become spokesmen within Lone Hill for those whites who feel that the solution to the Indian "problem" is to destroy the old culture. For the acculturated individual it is inevitable that the Indian people must live in a white world. They see the unacculturated Indians as holding back the course of progress to the detriment of all. The unacculturated majority feel that the acculturated families have taken for themselves what belongs to everyone, have violated the primary Indian values of generosity and emphasis on group welfare, and are "in cahoots" with the Indian Bureau against the best interests of the Indian people. They see the acculturated Indians as traitors and collaborationists.

Acculturated Indians actively seek to increase their interaction with middle class whites, as they need their approval and support. White people tend to accept the acculturated Indian because he behaves in accordance with the middle class ethic and is docile in his relations to whites. Almost without exception, when whites make their infrequent trips to Lone Hill they visit at the homes of a handful of acculturated families. As a consequence, the unacculturated Indians are further isolated from white contact in the village. During the first two weeks that my wife and I lived in Lone Hill, a nearby acculturated family brought us fresh milk, butter, and rolls, offered to drive us around the area, invited us to supper, and was even ready to discuss how we could best obtain rapport with the older Indian people. The acculturated families sought us out, while we had to take the initiative in meeting the unacculturated families.

Many government employees and surrounding whites feel that acculturated Indians are outstanding examples of what any individual Indian could achieve given the requisite ambition. Acculturated Indians have a virtual